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AUTHOR Nilsen, Alleen Pace; Tyler, Karen Beyard
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ABSTRACT

The second learning module in a continuing education program for inservice school media specialists focuses on sex stereotyping and ways in which inaccurate ideas about sex differences are transmitted through instructional materials in exploring the following questions: (1) Why do school materials communicate sexist ideas and sex-role stereotypes? (2) How is the language of school materials sexist? (3) How do illustrations in school materials communicate sexism and sex-role stereotyping? and (4) What evidence of sexism and sex-role stereotyping is found in instructional materials? Six specific examples of false assumptions derived from innate sex differences are listed, along with ways in which those assumptions are communicated in instructional materials and literature. Examples of sexist attitudes as they are covertly perpetuated through grammar and language are given to increase the reader's awareness of the problem in such a way that instructional materials can be evaluated for their degree of sexist content. Tests and exercises on this module are included in the accompanying activity book. (FM)

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MODULE 2:

SEXISM AND SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPING IN SCHOOL MATERIALS

Alleen Pace Nilsen
Karen Beyard Tyler

Arizona State University

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Introduction

Module 1 explained how unfair and inaccurate ideas about differences between the sexes are communicated. This module focuses on how these ideas are communicated by the materials used in schools. You will learn both how the ideas are communicated and what specific evidence of these ideas you can look for in school materials.

The previous module described unfairness and inaccuracy. But most people who analyze school materials from the perspective of providing educational equity use other terminology. They say that materials are sexist and contain sex-role stereotypes.

When a person's individual identity and traits become less important than the supposed traits of the group with which he or she shares a common characteristic, the term used is stereotyping. People are grouped together and assumptions are made about them according to the one group characteristic--sex, for instance--they have in common. Although the term can refer to a repetitive printing process, in contemporary, human terms, to stereotype is to imply, by repeated association of certain characteristics with a common group trait, that anyone possessing the common group trait will also exhibit the characteristics. The repetition fixes the permanent idea that group members who share one common characteristic also share common physical, emotional, intellectual, and behavioral traits. Hence, it is assumed that any individual member of a group possesses the same, or approximately the same traits as all other members of the group. This is almost never true.

Stereotypes are most frequently based on:

(1) a person's sex
(2) a person's race
(3) a person's age
(4) a person's affiliations (religion, politics, professions, nationality, etc.)

A person is thought of as male or black or elderly or Catholic or Republican or librarian or Spanish. The person may be all of these things, but once he is assigned to a particular group, stereotyping leads to the assumption that he and other group members will share the same physical, intellectual, emotional, and behavioral traits. The absurdity of such stereotyping is clear when it is realized that it is impossible for an elderly black male librarian who is Catholic, of Spanish heritage, and votes Republican to possess simultaneously all the traits stereotypically attributed to each

group of which he is a member.

When stereotypes are based on race, there is racism. By extension any arbitrary stereotyping of males and females on the basis of sex is sexism. Although sexism is defined in some dictionaries and by many people as discrimination against women, sexism happens to both sexes: arbitrary distinctions are made between the sexes which force certain roles and behaviors on both women and men, girls and boys. These arbitrary distinctions are repeated in textbooks and other materials; reflected in our language; and illustrated through drawings and photographs. Whether we call these arbitrary distinctions sexist or simply unfair, they must be recognized so that we can prevent our students from learning them. No student's choices and aspirations should be limited because the student happens to be male or happens to be female.

This unit will help you to answer the following questions:

(1) How do school materials communicate sexist ideas and sex-role stereotypes?

(2) How is the language of school materials sexist?

(3) How do the illustrations in school materials communicate sexism and sex-role stereotypes?

(4) What evidence of sexism and sex-role stereotyping is found in instructional materials?

1. Why do school materials communicate sexist ideas and sex-role stereotypes?

Several factors about school materials have the cumulative effect of permitting and encouraging the communication of sexist ideas and sex-role stereotypes. These are the factors:

(1) Textbooks, the primary tool of many classroom teachers, communicate both information and attitudes.

(2) The content of textbooks and other materials reflect a natural tendency to classify people into groups based on sex.

(3) The content of textbooks and other materials reflects the American work ethic and its emphasis on the contributions of men.

(4) The content of textbooks and other materials written for children is idealistic and didactic.

(5) The language of textbooks and other materials is sexist.

(6) The illustrations in textbooks and other materials communicate sexism and sex-role stereotypes.

The first four factors will be discussed in this section. The fifth and sixth factors will be examined in detail in the two sections which follow.

FACTOR ONE: Textbooks, the primary tool of many classroom teachers, communicate both information and attitudes.

Of all educational materials, textbooks usually receive the most attention from students. In many classes, everyone must read the text. In some classes (mathematics, for instance) students spend the entire year concentrating on one book. This means that they meet the biases of the author over and over again.

Unfortunately, textbooks are often more inaccurate and unfair than trade books. Since the production of a textbook series can take five years or more, texts lag behind trade books in the presentation of socially current ideas. And once a district invests in a series, schools are committed to use the books for several years. Even when revisions are made in texts, sexism and sex-role stereotyping may not be corrected. Textbooks writers have other priorities and may not be in sympathy with the issues. Consequently textbooks, even seemingly new or revised series, often communicate unfair and outdated ideas.

Your instructor will give you a copy of "Images of Males and Females in Elementary School Textbooks in Five Subject Areas." In this article, Weitzman and Rizzo discuss their research. Many of the images which they studied are visual. However, their research demonstrates how the textbooks which children learn from communicate "norms and standards of how men, women, boys, and girls should act." As you read, note for group discussion:

(1) The two kinds of information which textbooks communicate.
(2) The portrayal of males and the portrayal of females.
(3) The behavior encouraged for males and the behavior encouraged for females.
(4) The problems unique to science, mathematics, reading, spelling, and social studies textbooks.

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READ "IMAGES OF MALES AND FEMALES IN ELEMENTARY

SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS IN FIVE SUBJECT AREAS"

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Weitzman and Rizzo conclude that children are "crippled" by the textbooks they read. You may not agree, but you should still assist teachers and textbook selection committees in identifying what is communicated in the textbooks which they are using or considering. Often, subject experts concentrate on instructional content. You must remind them that latent content also teaches.

FACTOR TWO: The content of textbooks and other materials reflects a natural tendency to classify people into groups based on sex.

Weitzman and Rizzo reported that classification of people according to sex is a feature of mathematics textbooks. Actually, it is a feature of textbooks in many disciplines and of many educational practices.

It is natural to classify and rearrange things until they can be easily understood. A teacher with a classroom of thirty brand new first graders can hardly start out on the first day thinking of each child as an individual. So, the teacher tends to divide the group--sometimes physically, but more often mentally--into two groups: boys and girls. This is the simplest and most obvious way to divide children. It is harmless enough for a teacher to greet a class saying, "Good morning, boys and girls," but throughout the day this same division will be made dozens of times with varying degrees of educational impact.

The mental classification of people into male and female is so basic that it comes out in textbooks in several ways that usually go unnoticed. Even in modern social studies texts where a conscious attempt has been made to include females, one study found that mothers were shown only with their daughters while fathers were shown only with their sons. Marsha Federbush ("The Sex Problems of School Math Books," in And Jill Came Tumbling After: Sexism in American Education, edited by Judith Stacey, Susan Bereaud, and Joan Daniels, Dell, 1974) noticed that "new Math has brought with it a lot of new mathmatical concepts--and a lot of old social ones." She explained:

> The important new dimension in elementary New Math is the counting of objects in sets. When artists group triangles, rectangles, circles, and squares, these are fine. It may be boring, but children do learn the names of the geometric figures. When they draw baseball mitts, cats, or sports cars for counting, about the only people they may offend are neglected automobile manufacturers. But as soon as they arrange people into sets, they spoil it. They almost invariably limit group membership by sex. And particularly when it comes to placing people in occupational groupings, the traditional sex-role expectations are the rule. "Sets by sex" you might call them. Men may be doctors, firemen, chefs, astronauts, pilots, mailmen, painters, policemen, and you name it. (In some cities, half the bus drivers and mail deliverers are female.) Women may be waitresses (or housemaids, depending upon who is looking at the picture), nurses, stewardesses, and funny-hat-wearers, and not much more. Nowadays the people even come in a number of assorted tints, but they are still fixed into rigid sex roles. ...When set theory problems become more verbal, youngsters deal with the sets of all boys who play baseball and football and the sets of all girls with blue eyes and with short hair. Boys are judged by what they do: girls by what they look like. (p. 181)

This kind of classification by sex is almost subconscious. Probably neither the creators of the messages nor the receivers are aware of sexism. Nevertheless what Weitzman and Rizzo call "latent content" communicates a powerful message.

A more obvious form of sexism based on classification occurs when educators make assumptions about the "needs of boys" and the "needs of girls" for certain kinds of instructional materials. One assumption that educators have been making since the 1950s when Rudolf Flesch wrote Why Johnny Can't Read is that "feminine" values in educational materials have prevented boys from achieving. This became a serious concern in 1957 when the Soviet Union launched its first Sputnik. National security demanded the education of scientists and mathematicians. Since it was assumed that males would fill these roles, the math and science books prepared with federal funding were aimed at young boys. So that boys' reading achievement would improve, reading books also became more male-oriented. "Feminine" family stories were replaced with "masculine" stories of adventure, animals, mystery, and sports. Tradebooks followed the same trend. Dr. Seuss's easy-to-read books, which became popular in the 1960s, feature nearly all male casts or male fantasy and humanized animal characters. Even in crowd scenes, males often out number females five-to-one.

A purposeful effort was made to favor one sex over the other. The attitude of publishers has been: "If we get the boys interested, the girls will follow along." This attitude has proved difficult to change. Complicating this attitude is the fact that most artists and authors, when they attempted to meet the needs of boys, brought with them their stereotyped attitudes about appropriate male and female behavior. Since many adults believe the future role of a girl is to be wife and mother, they left girls out of non-family stories. It was assumed that family stories are for girls while exciting and scary stories are for boys. As a result girls, who still read more than boys, spend a great deal of time reading about activities from which they are excluded. Even when they are included, they form appreciative audiences around boys who are active leaders. In reality, boys and girls are equally interested in leadership and excitement and should be permitted equal access and participation. Textbook writers and illustrators should not feel forced to classify content as "masculine" or "feminine" or to make a choice between the "needs" of one sex or the other. But as long as they do, we must carefully examine the effects which the natural tendency to classify has on school materials.

FACTOR THREE: The content of textbooks and other materials reflects the American work ethic and its emphasis on the contributions of men.

In the United States the work ethic is more than just a leftover from the Puritans. It is a vital part of the American heritage going back to the time when settlers first landed on the shores of a harsh, untamed continent. They either worked or they died. A reflection of our ancestors' great reverence for work is reflected in America's folk literature. In the United States, we admire our heroes for the physical labor and the gargantuan tasks they performed with their powerful bodies. Nearly every

region and every type of work had a hero who has been promoted by writers and publicists: Paul Bunyan, the lumberjack in the Northwest; Stormalong, the sailor in New England; Pecos Bill, the cowboy on the cattle ranges of the Southwest; Steamboat Bill, the river pilot coming down the Mississippi; John Henry, the steel driving man building the railroad lines; and Casey Jones, the engineer who was never late with his trains.

As part and parcel of this tremendous value that Americans place on work has been the idea that it is in the domain of the male, not the female. This is an understandable outgrowth of the early days when hard physical labor was required. The stronger bodies of men enabled them to be better lumberjacks, cowboys, river boatmen, steel drivers, and probably railroad engineers. But technology has changed society so that physical labor is no longer as important as intellectual labor and skill. Horsepower--really machine power--has replaced "manpower" and the relative difference in the strength of male and female bodies has faded into insignificance.

In just one generation the need for physical strength has changed tremendously. Our mothers and grandmothers often did not have the strength to do the jobs which their husbands performed. Today, men and women can perform the same jobs, but often they do not. Surprisingly, many women are doing jobs that require more physical exertion than the jobs of men working nearby. A female flight attendent who serves dinner and drinks to ninety passengers during a two-hour flight probably expends more physical energy than a male pilot. A woman working at the register of a supermarket where she must lift groceries from baskets, ring up the prices, and repack the groceries in bags, and baskets works physically harder than a male store manager. Women taking care of large numbers of children in day care centers or in schools for handicapped children lift and bend and walk more than a male director sitting in an office planning and consulting. Similarly, female nurses probably expend more physical effort than many male doctors, and waitresses more than chefs or maitre d's. Today men do not necessarily hold the jobs requiring the most physical labor. Instead they hold the prestige jobs--the ones requiring the most skill and intellect. This is probably because of a time lag in social attitudes. For thousands of years men have been better equipped to do the important work of the world. Even though physical labor is no longer the most valued and the most important, we still think that the important work must belong to men. This is what many school materials show.

R. W. O'Donnell ("Sex Bias in Primary Social Studies Textbooks," Educational Leadership 31, 1973, pp. 137-141) studied six sets of elementary social studies textbooks published between 1966 and 1970. He found that in these books there were seventy-two males and one female shown in prestigious or highly paid occupations. In all the occupations pictured, 83% showed male workers while only 17% showed female workers. Even as our attitudes change about what males and females can or should do, our school materials continue to show the world of work as it has been in the past. Males dominate, being shown in a greater variety of jobs and in most "prestige" roles.

Even more damaging is the fact that since the work of males has been considered more important and more prestigious all along, only their achievements have been given careful attention in books about the past. Thus, women are nearly invisible in history textbooks and in the sections of other textbooks which treat historical topics. Not only what textbooks include but also what they exclude communicates to children what behaviors and roles are expected of them.

FACTOR FOUR: Textbooks and other materials for children are idealistic and didactic.

Books written for children have a heritage not shared by television and movies. In their earliest history, children's books were used to instruct manners and morals. Only during the past century has it become acceptable for children's books simply to entertain.

But the effects of centuries of didacticism continue. Most of us expect children's books to be more than entertaining. Children's books are used by adults to present their view of what ought to be. People seem to feel that if an idea is presented to children in a book, perhaps it will turn out that way in real life. For example, people who think the world would be better if all mothers stayed home and baked cookies, tend to present that image in books. Other people show every little girl as active and aggressive and every mother as a superwoman with both a successful career and a successful family. Neither image is accurate, but both show how people impose their own ideas about the "ideal" world on the world of children.

Another opportunity for subjectivity and idealism occurs because many adults write as Maurice Sendak says he writes: for the child he once was. Although some of our best pieces of children's literature (e.g., Beatrix Potter's Peter Rabbit and Lewis Carroll's Alice) have been written specifically for a child whom the author knew intimately, most authors do write for children in general. To do this, they go back to their own memories of the feelings and beliefs they had in childhood. Without realizing it, they present a romanticized and outdated view of history.

These four factors interact with the unfair and inaccurate assumptions which many of us have about the differences between males and females. Even when authors and illustrators become aware of the unfairness or inaccuracies of their materials, these factors help perpetuate the assumptions. Two other factors about school materials, illustrations, and language also perpetuate sexism and sex-role stereotypes. These additional factors will be discussed in detail in Sections 2 and 3.

E. How is the language of school materials sexist?[1]

Language is a concrete reflection of the customs and beliefs of its speakers. Therefore, if people have certain attitudes about males and females, then it is likely that these attitudes will be communicated by the language they choose to express their ideas. If peoples' beliefs are sexist (as we have seen they often are), then their language is likely to be sexist also.

A. HOW ENGLISH GRAMMAR CONTRIBUTES TO SEXISM IN LANGUAGE

In order that the relationships between language and sexism can be discussed, the following terminology must be understood.

(1) referent: The item or being that is thought about when a speaker or writer uses a particular word.

(2) gender: The grammatical system through which nouns, pronouns, and sometimes modifiers are classified as either masculine, feminine, or neuter. The form of a word will be changed according to its gender.

(3) natural gender: In a language having natural gender, nouns and pronouns are classified according to the sexual identification (or the lack of it) of the referent. For example, in English, which primarily has a system of natural gender, man is masculine, woman is feminine, and plant is neuter.

(4) grammatical gender: The majority of the languages of the world have grammatical gender in which there is not a clear relationship between the gender of a word and the sex of its referent. For example, in German tree is masculine, buds are feminine, and leaves are neuter. young lady is neuter while cats of either sex are feminine.

(5) masculine gender: In English, the marking of a word to show that its referent is male. Masculine gender in English is shown not so much through the endings on words as through the necessity for agreement which is brought about by the selection of masculine pronouns he, his, and him. It is also shown through the semantic meaning of such words as man, boy, fellow, master, and bachelor. These words may be used independently or incorporated into other terms such as milkman, bellboy, fellow traveler, masterful, and bachelor pad.

(6) feminine gender: In English, the marking of a word to show that its referent is female. Feminine gender in English is shown through the

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[1]The topic "sexism and language" is so complex that many issues will not be covered in this reading. The following book is recommended as a supplemental reading: Sexism and Language (National Council of Teachers of English, 1977. $5.95 pb.). The authors, Alleen Pace Nilsen, Haig Bosmajian, H. Lee Gershuny, and Julia P. Stanley, discuss sexism and the language of law, literature, marriage, dictionaries, etc.

use of such pronouns as she, hers, and her and through the semantic meaning of such words as woman, girl, mistress, and maid. These words may be used independently or incorporated into other terms such as women's studies, girlhood, postmistress, and maiden name. Unlike masculine gender, feminine gender can also be shown through inflections or word endings borrowed into English from other languages, for example, -ess as in princess and poetess, -ette as in majorette and Nicolette, and -trix as in aviatrix and beatrix.

(7) generic: This word comes from the Latin word genus meaning group, race, or kind. Generic, as used in talking about language, refers to words that include both males and females as their referents.

(8) masculine generic term: A word that is marked as though it has a masculine referent, but by definition and usage includes females among its referents. There are many common words of this type in modern English, for example, bachelor's degree, fellowship, patron (from Latin pater meaning father), mastermind, and mankind.

(9) feminine generic term: A word that is marked as though it had a feminine referent, but by definition and usage includes males among its referents. There are only a few words of this type in English, for example ladybug, seacow, and black widow spider. (Notice how these each represent an extreme of a "feminine" stereotype: smallness and daintiness, ugliness and fatness, and conniving cruelty.)

Although these terms seem to have specific meanings, language is constantly changing. In American English "gender" is presently in a state of flux. It is impossible, for instance, to provide in a definition of masculine generic terms an exact list of all such terms. No one agrees. Given below is a list of those words which at least to some speakers could have female as well as male referents.

The problem with these terms is that not everyone agrees. When a writer or speaker uses one of these terms in a generic sense and a reader or listener interprets it as having specifically masculine gender, there is a lack of communication. For example, one woman might feel included in, while another would feel excluded from, the following announcement:

> Anyone getting his application in before
> Monday will be considered.

This type of confusion over who the referent might be occurs not only with pronouns and with words that are marked to show masculine or feminine gender, but also with unmarked words that have traditionally been used with referents of one sex. It is this type of gender confusion that is at the root of the riddle about the son and his daughter who were in a terrible traffic accident. The father was rushed to one hospital and the child to another. At the hospital where the child was taken, the surgeon looked at the injured girl and exclaimed, "I can't operate on this patient, she's my daughter!" Since the father was injured and rushed to another hospital, how could this be true? The answer of course is that the surgeon was the girl's mother. When this riddle first made the rounds on television talk shows in the early 1970s, it took a lot of people by surprise. They did not realize how firmly in their minds, *surgeon* was thought of as a word with masculine gender. The fact that there is a feeling toward gender even in unmarked words (*nurse, dancer, doctor, lawyer*) is shown through speakers feeling a need to clarify when they use one of the words to refer to someone of the unexpected sex. This is why we sometimes hear such terms as *male nurse, male dancer, lady lawyer,* and *woman doctor*. Probably as more men become nurses and dancers, etc., and more women become lawyers and doctors, etc., the feeling that there is innate gender in these words will disappear.

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COMPLETE ACTIVITY 2-1 AND ACTIVITY 2-2

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The reason that so much confusion surrounds gender in English is that in nearly all cases English has natural gender. Speakers have therefore come to expect a perfect correlation between gender and sex. This is a problem in the few cases where grammatical gender, rather than natural gender, is used. English speakers have a hard time shifting gears and realizing when such terms are to be interpreted literally and when they are to be interpreted generically. In English we really think of pronouns as carriers of semantic information, not as function words filling such grammatical requirements as number agreement.

This appears to be a seemingly small matter, but its effect is surprisingly big. When there is a need to refer to individuals in a group which includes both males and females, or when the sexual identity of someone is not known, custom has dictated that masculine--not feminine--generic terms be used. One result is that many more masculine--not feminine--generic terms are used. One result is that many more masculine than feminine pronouns appear in school materials. Some studies have shown as many as two or three masculine pronouns for every one feminine pronoun. Research, as well as common sense, supports the idea that females naturally relate more closely to feminine than to

masculine pronouns and that males naturally relate more closely to masculine than to feminine pronouns.

Maurice Sendak uses this subtle distinction to make his point on the first few pages of Some Swell Pup (Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, 1976). He has a brother and a sister with a new puppy. Whenever the sister is pleased with the puppy, she refers to it with feminine pronouns. As soon as she is displeased, she switches to masculine pronouns. The brother does just the opposite.

If girls relate better to feminine pronouns, and yet school materials have more masculine than feminine pronouns, it appears that this is an area in which changes need to be made and counterbalancing discussions need to be held. And materials need to be selected in which an effort has been made to include feminine pronouns as well as other terms which do not give the impression that "males only" are the referents.

A problem that is directly related to the use of masculine generic terms occurs in imaginative literature when the sex of a character is either unknown or irrelevant. In this case, authors almost automatically rely on masculine gender pronouns. This happens more frequently in children's than in adult books because the characters in a large percentage of children's books are personified animals and other fantasy creatures. Especially with fantasy characters regardless of race, creed, color, or sex. This holds true for race, creed, and color, but because writers must use either masculine or feminine pronouns, it does not hold true for sex. What has resulted is that nearly all fantasy creatures and nearly all personified animals in children's fiction are males. Exceptions are made only when there is a need for a character to play a mother role or to fill one of the stereotyped roles assigned to women. Of the hundreds of personified animals in primary level books, about the only popular one who is a well-rounded female character with many sides to her personality is Frances in the series of books by Lillian and Russell Hoban.

Since before the days of Aesop and his fables, storytellers have expected their listeners to identify with animal characters and learn lessons from their behavior. If we still expect this today, which judging from the number and the content of such stories, we obviously do, then it is just as important for librarians and teachers to search out and acquire fantasy books which present fully developed female characters as it is to acquire realistic fiction and nonfiction with accurate portrayals of females. And because of the special problem with the English pronoun system, chances are that the task will be all the more difficult in the area of fantasy.

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COMPLETE ACTIVITY 2-3

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B. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE COMMUNICATION OF OVERT AND COVERT INFORMATION

Although it may be difficult to sort out some of the grammatical terminology related to the problem of gender in English, at least it is fairly easy to trace the influence of our present system. It consistently gives the male a disproportionate amount of attention. Mixed groups, unknown groups, and unknown individuals, and even many definitely female referents are commonly referred to with masculine pronouns or with masculine sounding generic terms. In this way the language is overtly or openly sexist. But this represents only a small portion of the sexism in English. The covert, that is the hidden or covered, sexism is much more prevalent and perhaps even more damaging because it isn't recognized. It is harder to make rules for avoiding covert sexism because it comes in so many varieties. Language is creative. No two people ever communicate exactly the same message in exactly the same way. This means there are as many ways to express sexism as there are individuals who have sexist attitudes.

An example of covert sexism that is common in American high schools is the naming of home economics classes designed for males something like "Bachelor Survival." The intended overt message is that the class is for males. But the covert message is that it is for unmarried males. The implication is that as soon as a man gets married, his wife will take care of the kinds of things that are taught such as sewing on buttons, cooking meals, and purchasing food and household supplies.

Ruth Radlauer, who wrote Mesa Verde National Park (Children's Press, 1977), would probably be very surprised to be accused of using language in a sexist way. She describes the marriage customs of the Indians who lived in the Colorado area in the 1200s. She wrote that a girl who wanted to get married "had to" squat in front of the groom's house for four days and grind corn. If the corn were acceptable, then the marriage was arranged. In the following paragraph, she stated that the boy obtained or made presents for his future bride.

The overt message is that both the bride and the groom had certain pre-nuptial duties to fill, but because of the use of the words had to for the girl, but not for the boy, the covert message is that the girl was in a sub-servient position.

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COMPLETE ACTIVITY 2-4

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C. HOW LANGUAGE PERPETUATES SEXIST ATTITUDES

An especially troublesome thing about covert sexism is that once a sexist usage gets into the language as a cliche or a metaphor, it is accepted as truth. It becomes part of the folk culture which is taught to new generations without ever being held up for examination.

An example of how language can influence perception is the word tomboy. This word is used to describe a certain kind of active behavior participated in by young girls. The boy in this word implies that this kind of behavior is masculine. Nearly everyone would agree that the word means something similar to the following definition from the Webster's New World Dictionary, 1966 edition, "A girl who behaves like a boisterous boy; hoyden." Yet when surveys have been taken of adult women of various ages and various socio-economic and racial groups a majority of them have said that in their youth they were tomboys. If a majority of females participate in this behavior, then it must be female behavior. Whatever females do is feminine, yet the language tells us differently. And it is the language that is believed because most people do not know how many females are sometimes tomboys, and they have no particular reason to question the common assumption that being active and loud are masculine rather than feminine traits.

Language reflects the cultural prejudices of former generations at the same time that it covertly shapes the attitudes of future generations. An examination of the English language as used in this country reveals some rather extreme sexist attitudes. That each of these attitudes exists--or has existed--is supported by evidence in the language. As you read each attitude and study the evidence, think about how your own attitudes are reflected by the language you use and shaped by the language of others.

COVERT MESSAGE #1: Males deserve more respect than females.

Language usages that communicate the message:

1. The husband's not the wife's name is used to identify the family.

2. Boys are often given their fathers' names; girls are seldom given their mothers' names.

3. English grammar is such that masculine pronouns are used whenever the sex of the people being referred to is either mixed or unknown.

4. Over 100 common words in English clearly indicate that they refer to males because they have a specifically masculine marker to them. Females are included in these words as invisible referents.

5. With males and females displaying similar skills or living conditions, the male often gets a more prestigious title, compare chef/cook, wizard/witch, tailor/seamstress, brave/squaw, bachelor/old maid, medic/nurse, aviator/aviatrix, poet/poetress.

COVERT MESSAGE #2: Females more than males should be thought of in relation to sex while males more than females should be thought of in relationsnip to accomplishments.

Language usages that communicate the message:

1. Pairs of words such as sir/madame, man on the street/woman on the street, master/mistress, callboy/callgirl, and chorus boy/chorus girl show how female words pick up extra meanings related to sex.

2. When "He's a professional," is said, the listener is most likely to think of a doctor, a lawyer, or an athlete, but when, "She's a professional," is said a listener is likely to think of a prostitute.

3. Such mountain names as The Grand Tetons and Squaw Peak were given to show a similarity between the mountains and the shape of women's breasts. But when mountains are named after men such as Pike's Peak and Mount McKinley, they are named after individual men in honor of their accomplishments rather than the shape of their bodies.

4. Dozens of eponyms in English honor men's inventions. For example, Boysenberry, Pasteurization, Diesel engine, Ferris wheel, Sousaphone, Franklin stove, and Mason jar, but for an equivalent period of American English, practically the only words that came into the language from women's names are Bloomers named after Amelia Jenks Bloomer and Mae West Jacket after the buxom actress. These both relate rather intimately to women's bodies.

5. Men feel free to use such expressions as, "There's something I want to get off my chest," and "You caught me with my pants down," but women are more hesitant for fear the terms will be interpreted literally and will therefore be sexually suggestive.

COVERT MESSAGE #3: Males should be active while females should be passive.

Language usages that communicate the messages:

1. Animal slang terms for males include such active terms as stud, wolf, and tom cat, while females are given pet names such as kitten, bunny, bird, chick, and lamb.

2. Females, but not males, are often identified as food which is an extremely passive item simply being consumed; for example, a cute tomato, a dish, a peach, a sharp cookie, cheese cake, honey, angel cake, sugar, and sweetie-pie.

3. Females are also compared to plants which are passive. Girls are given such names as Rose and Ivy. Women are described as clinging vines, shrinking violets, and wall flowers. A man is being told that he is like a woman when he is called a pansy.

4. The vocabulary related to sexual intercourse shows a passive female role and an active male role, as for example, when a man makes a sexual conquest by deflowering a woman, possessing her, or taking away her virginity. Notice how the set phrase does not even give her the dignity of being able to give away her virginity.

COVERT MESSAGE #4: Males should be respected in their old age while females should be disliked.

Language usages that communicate the message:

1. Males are valued for their wisdom and their achievement. This grows greater with age. Females are valued for their bodies which deteriorate with age. Animal metaphors illustrate the positive feelings felt toward young females and the negative feelings felt toward old females. Young women are given appealing metaphors in which they are compared to young animals still in the attractive stages of babyhood while old women are compared to unattractive, useless, or annoying old animals. For example, Hugh Hefner coined the term bunnies rather than rabbits for his nightclub employees. A young female may be called a filly while her mother is often referred to as an old nag. A young female may be called a bird while her mother is an old bat or an old crow. The correlation between a woman's prestige and her age is clearly shown in an extended metaphor relating women to poultry. When a woman is young she is approvingly referred to as a chick. Then a woman marries and has her brood. After a while she begins to feel cooped up so she goes to hen parties and cackles with her friends. When her children leave the nest, she has nothing more to occupy her time or her energies so she is apt to henpeck her husband and finally turn into an old biddy.

2. The wisdom and beliefs of old men are revered as shown by the term grandfatherly advice. There is no equivalent term for women's advice. Instead we have the term old wives' tales, which connotes something to be dismissed as silly and superstitious.

3. The equivalent value placed on an old man and a young woman is shown in the general approval that society gives to what are called May-December weddings. An old man marrying a young woman is fairly common, but not the other way around.

4. The double standard about age makes women self-conscious and worried about growing old. Males are anxious to grow to be a man, but females want to stay a girl all their lives. Even women past fifty call each other girl. This emphasis on staying young is what makes it a social faux pas to ask a woman past thirty her age. If she is asked, society condones her telling an "innocent lie." Just as blacks rejected the idea that there was something disgraceful about being black, feminists reject the idea that there is something disgraceful about being a woman instead of a girl. The general attitude in the feminist movement is that calling an adult woman girl is as much a mark of disrespect as calling an adult male of a racial minority, boy. Neither term grants the person being addressed the status he or she deserves as an equal adult.

Most people would not admit to these attitudes nor to communicating these messages. Yet, they use language which both reflects and encourages the attitudes. Much of the supporting evidence for these attitudes is found in school materials also.

An example of how language is a historical record of our thoughts is the names which children are given. Names reflect the hopes and expectations that parents hold for their male and female children. The meanings

of common boys' names reflect a desire that males be powerful. Val means strong, Roger means famous spear, Nicholas means victory, Ernest means resolute fighter, Warner means to warn or protect, Robert means bright fame, Rex means king or regal, Michael means one who is like God, and Martin means warlike. Girls' names are taken from passive but aesthetically pleasing items such as Lily, Ivy, Ruby, Jewel, Pearl, and Rose. Or they describe a quality thought to be desirable in a girl. Gloria means worship, Mona means noble, Sophia means wise, Judith means praised by the Lord, and Hazel means God sees. The contrast in meaning between traditional male and female names is interesting even though modern parents who choose these names may not be aware of their meanings. Nevertheless the meanings reflect values held by society. The names are a surface manifestation--like the tip of an iceberg--of attitudes that are deeply ingrained in our heritage and are reinforced throughout society in dozens of different ways.

Once we recognize the attitudes that are behind many of our language usages, then we can examine the attitudes and make a conscious decision about which ones we want to keep and which ones to alter or discard. We can also understand how people's thoughts are shaped by language. Advertisers spend millions of dollars to find the exact combinations of words which will make consumers reach a desired conclusion about a product without even realizing they have been influenced. If such subtle and roundabout uses of language can influence people in predictable ways, how much more certain it seems that our thoughts--and the thoughts of children--are affected by the sea of sexist words and phrases that surrounds us all. Each of us should work to develop a language that frees people and enables them to work toward developing their fullest potential regardless of the physical characteristics of their bodies.

The idea of ridding the language of every vestige of sexism is overwhelming. A non-sexist version of English would be as different from today's language as today's language is from middle English. Everything we now have on our library shelves would have to be translated into the new language. This language would: (1) incorporate a different pronoun system; (2) add thousands of new words which do not indicate gender; and (3) delete thousands of others which do. No serious linguistic scholar imagines that this can be brought about, but yet hundreds of serious scholars are in favor of working to change some parts of the language. What we have to do is to set priorities and reasonable expectations. That is, we can select materials--that with everything else being equal--use the least sexist language. The headings in Module 3 will describe the characteristics of these materials.

3. How do the illustrations in school materials communicate sexism and sex-role stereotypes?

Visual materials and illustrations fulfill two purposes. The first is to help students develop skills in interpreting visual symbols and information. Some educators call this "visual literacy." The second is to supplement verbal information and assist in its interpretation. Some students may also be helped to identify more closely with the materials they use if the characters illustrated are similar to them in age, sex, appearance, and interests. Illustrations, often unintentionally, also

communicate information about role assignments and appropriate behavior (what Weitzman and Rizzo called latent content).

Unfortunately there are several problems. One is that visual symbols in instructional materials tend to repeat both the relevant and the irrelevant attributes of what is being represented. Students learn to overgeneralize their understanding of a particular occupation, for instance, to include both relevant attributes (such as uniform, functions, environment) and irrelevant attributes (age, sex, race). A police officer becomes not only a person in a uniform who helps protect and enforce the laws, but also a white male. As a result, illustrations can encourage sexist and otherwise limiting inferences and interpretations (white male) of neutral verbal information (police officer). Children then learn our sexist assumptions about society.

Illustrators also tend to picture members of certain groups (especially boys and men) in greater proportion than members of other groups. They also tend to minimize physical, emotional, vocational, and avocational variability among group members and exaggerate the real or imagined variability between groups. Members of excluded and underrepresented groups have difficulty finding characters with whom they can identify. Members of all groups are presented with an incomplete and inaccurate picture of themselves.

How these problems interrelate is most noticeable in picture and easy-to-read books. No book can present all facets of its characters' lives or all the variations possible for such characters. Since children's books must be condensed and simplified to accommodate short attention spans and beginning reading skills, an author can develop only a few main characters. Supporting characters must be shown through efficient symbolization, often visual. These characters are more important for their role than for their personalities. Often they are represented by uniforms: a police officer wears a blue uniform; a mother, an apron; a worker, a hard hat. Unfortunately this kind of role symbolization is much the same from book to book. While repetition helps children recognize the roles, it can also lead to overgeneralization when attributes irrelevant to the role are also repeated. When all, or nearly all, children's books show members of the same sex, age, or racial group fulfilling certain vocational and behavioral roles, children will learn to expect and assign these roles to group members, including themselves!

This problem is made worse when members of certain groups, usually white boys and men, are consistently featured in the main roles and members of other groups, usually women and minorities, fill supporting roles. Readers seldom read about or see members of the latter groups as fully developed individuals. They are background characters who fulfill symbolic roles necessary to the story. As these roles are repeated, they become stereotypes which are associated with particular groups. For instance, since many children's books feature boys as the main characters, the girls who play the supporting roles are repeatedly represented as watchers, waiters, and helpers. Thus, the same sexist attitude which is communicated

by language is communicated by illustrations: males are active doers; girls are passive helpers. And, if most books feature white middle class children as the main characters, then the occasional Chicano, Black, Native American, or other group member who appears will be in the background as a type or symbol. Finally, because children's books are aimed at child readers, it is only sensible for authors and illustrators who want readers to identify with the main characters to make them young. But this means that adult characters (mail carrier, school teacher, aunt) will be presented through symbolization. If this symbolization associates certain behaviors and attributes with certain groups, then children will learn to stereotype. They too will associate certain behaviors and attributes with certain groups and make sexist, racist, ageist, and other stereotyped judgments about individuals based on sex, race, age, etc.

Not surprisingly, even the prestigious Caldecott award winners and runners-up include examples of how illustrations lead children to over-generalize concepts, learn sexist beliefs, and form inaccurate ideas of themselves. For one thing, fewer females than males are illustrated. In the ninety-eight award winners and runners-up since 1950, there have been 1321 illustrations of individuals: 858 males (65%) and 463 females (35%). Not only are fewer females pictured, but since 1950, as this table shows, the percentage of females has declined.

	% FEMALES ILLUSTRATED
1951-1955	46%
1956-1960	41%
1961-1965	35%
1966-1970	26%
1971-1975	22%

That this happened while awareness of issues related to educational equity increased is surprising. However, a closer look at winners and runners-up from 1971-1975 provides some insights.

Two books, Cathedral by David Macauley and If All the Seas Were One Sea by Janina Domanska, considerably increased the number of males counted. In Cathedral, Macauley depicts the century-long task of building the medieval French Cathedral of Chutreax. Clearly in his own mind he pictured this as strictly a man's job, and it is likely that research supported his ideas. Although ninety-five different men are shown (master quarryman, master stone cutter, master sculptor, master glass maker, etc.), females are shown only on one page in a crowd scene at a shipping wharf. Among thirty-nine men, one woman is seen holding what appears to be a basket of food. She is three-fourths of an inch high. Further in the background is another female, less than one-half inch high. Illustrations of men range up to five inches high. As the townspeople are shown gathering in the cathedral to celebrate its completion, the figures are shown from the back. It appears to be an all-male audience, a good illustration of how women are invisible in history.

The other book dominated by illustrations of males, If All the Seas Were One Sea, is an illustrated version of the old rhyme, "If all the trees were one tree what a great tree that would be. If all the men were one man, what a great man that would be..." The "great man" includes 35 pictures of men. This illustrates how artists interpret masculine sounding words--which could be generic--as referring to males only. It is possible in that poem to interpret man as mankind, yet the artist chose not to show both males and females turning into this one great person. Most school libraries include other examples of books in which masculine sounding generic terms are illustrated to include only men.

If these two lopsided books are removed from the 1971-1975 sample, a total of 77 females are counted in illustrations as compared to 149 males. Females make up 34% of the pictured characters, about the same as the percentage of females pictured in the 1961 to 1965 Caldecott books. One reason why there continue to be fewer females is that even when a book is about a female, she is typically surrounded by males in the active roles. In Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, the only females are Snow White, her mother, and her stepmother, compared to thirteen males including the dwarfs and the prince and his entourage. In the Funny Little Woman, four women and seventeen males are shown. All the people that the woman meets underground are male, which is why, incidentally, they want to keep her: they need a female to cook for them.

Out of the eighteen 1971-1975 books, five of them had no females at all. These included If All the Seas Were One Sea, In the Night Kitchen, Frog and Toad are Friends, Three Jovial Huntsmen, and Anansi the Spider. If we do not count the crowd scene, then Cathedral could also be added to the list, making one-third of the Caldecotts exclusively about males.

When Clay Sings is an interesting example of male orientation. Byrd Baylor, a woman, writes about the Indian women who took clay from the earth and who formed it into lasting things of beauty. The pictures, done by a man (Tom Bahti) are all of males. On the frontispiece, there is a sketch of a blanketed figure working with clay. It is ambiguous, and possibly could be a woman. Inside the book, however, all the illustrations are of men. Even on pages saying such things as "Women then must have spoken to the earth as they took its clay," "Was the sun shining as she worked?" and "Mama, make a bowl with pictures..." Bahti has shown masculine looking figures in loin cloths digging the clay from the ground and doing other tasks. He based all of his illustrations on designs taken from pieces of prehistoric clay pottery found in the American Southwest. Apparently males were the ones shown in most of these designs since they did the exciting tasks of wrestling bears, throwing spears, and defending the tribe. The illustrations in this book show how prehistoric ideas about who performs what roles have influenced contemporary ideas.

The pronoun system and the generic use of masculine sounding terms in the English language also influence contemporary ideas of how materials should be illustrated. As with If All the Seas Were One Sea, the very use of the word man often dictates to an artist that males only should be illustrated. This further confuses children's ideas about words such as

man, caveman, and policeman: do these terms include females or not? Books about cavemen, for instance, seldom include illustrations of females. "Manned space flight" and "Pilgrim fathers" are other topics which, when illustrated in texts and other materials, include few women.

Books illustrated with photographs rather than drawings are often more balanced and accurate than books illustrated with drawings from an illustrator's imagination. In The Color of Man by Cohen, equal representation is given to males and females despite the presence of the masculine-sounding generic term "man." Unlike the artist's pen or brush, a camera does not decide its subject's sex, romanticize roles, or impose false body language on its subjects. It sees the real world. But, photographs can also be sexist illustrations. For one thing, a camera records the degree of sexism which exists in society. And, it is the photographer who decides what to point the camera at and what pictures to distribute for publication.

In 1976 the Associated Press released a giant-sized book of photographs, The Instant It Happened. The book is advertised as "the greatest collection of news photographs ever assembled in a single volume." It contains 115 full-page photos with a facing page giving the story behind each picture. The dust jacket and the frontispiece are each made of four outstanding pictures. In the featured position (upper left hand corner) on the cover spread is the famous picture of Marilyn Monroe posed over a subway grating with the air blowing her skirt up. In the same position on the frontispiece is the 1941 pinup of Rita Hayworth posed in a lace and satin nightgown. The pictures surrounding these two pinups include the raising of the flag over Iwo Jima, Muhammad Ali knocking out Sonny Liston, Harry Truman holding the "Dewey Defeats Truman" newspaper, Babe Ruth standing before the crowd at his farewell, President Kennedy framed by the flags and the drapes in his oval office, and the chairman of Montgomery Ward being carried by U.S. soldiers from his office because he refused to convert his plants to the manufacturing of war goods.

An analysis of just these eight pictures points up several contrasting attitudes that appear over and over again in illustrations. The pictures of the women are posed to be sexually stimulating. They are highlighted in the layout to provide variety and visual appeal. The six pictures of men show individuals involved in dramatic real life action. None of them were planned and posed in the same way that the pinups were. The range of emotions includes bravery, defiance, hate, discouragement, sorrow, and jubilation. But the women are restricted to a single role: sex object.

In the photographs chosen for the book, men are shown killing each other, saving each other's lives, breaking world sports records, weeping at farewells, setting themselves on fire, begging for water, stowing away on airplanes, and comforting and advising each other. The roles are so varied that it is impossible to list them all. In contrast the women's roles are so limited that they can all be described. Of the pictures containing people, there are 82 which include no recognizable women and 11 which have no recognizable men in them. Only 20 pictures out of 125 prominently included females. Eight of these twenty were taken since 1970, which says something about the increased role of women in public life. With only two or three exceptions, the few pictures that feature women do so only in prescribed roles. The sex role personified by Rita

Hayworth and Marilyn Monroe is repeated by a third picture of protestors bathing in the Washington, D.C. Reflecting Pool. Highlighted in the center of the group is a nude college girl.

Closely related to the idea of women as sex objects is the idea that females are decorations: they are to be looked at. A little girl in billowing skirts is shown spontaneously dancing in front of a band. When the photographer hung the picture in his living room, his own two-year-old daughter told people that it was a picture of her. "That's the charm of it," the photographer says, "it's all little girls." In relation to stereotyping, the question to ask is whether it is really a portrait of "all little girls" or whether it portrays the romanticized and charming picture in our mind's eye of what "all little girls" should be. When the photographer came across a real-life embodiment of his imagined ideal, he gave it the title "All Little Girls" and closed his mind to the thousands of other little girls he had seen and not chosen to photograph.

Another stereotype about the role of woman is that she is a faithful and loving wife, standing in the background, waiting and welcoming her husband home. One picture showed a 1973 returning prisoner of war being greeted by his joyful daughters and his wife. Another showed a 1966 Vietnam soldier who had dropped one of his crutches to hug his wife. A third showed a young child with the mother in the background welcoming home a 1943 veteran. The grieving woman stereotype was portrayed with three pictures of Jacqueline Kennedy mourning at the time of her husband's death, Pat Nixon standing beside her husband during his resignation speech, queens at the funeral of King George VI, and a girl at Kent State screaming painfully over the body of a slain student.

Another stereotype is that in times of danger women are helpless and unaware of danger. Women were pictured as helpless hostages in the shoot-out in the Marin County courtroom; a woman with her skirt flying up to reveal her underpants was shown jumping to her death from a burning building; and during the integration of Little Rock, Arkansas schools in 1957, three giggling teenage girls were shown in front of soldiers standing with bayonets pointed straight forward. This idea that women are helpless or simply pawns in times of danger gives rise to the idea that they must be taken care of.

But there is a companion feeling of sadism toward "the weaker sex" which occasionally crops up. This is shown by the fact that in 1928, a reporter smuggled a camera into the execution chamber to photograph the electrocution of Ruth Snyder who along with her lover was condemned to death for killing her husband. The photographer risked taking a picture of her, but not of her lover, because a picture of a woman being killed would be more tantalizing than a similar picture of a man. Another sadistic picture was that of the bodies of Mussolini and his twenty-five-year-old mistress hanging heads down in the public square of Milan. Her exposed legs stand out in contrast to the trousered legs of the men next to her.

The only photographs in the book which seemed to treat men and women

equally are one of a man and a woman selling apples during the depression, and one of two French men and a woman weeping during Second World War when their country's flags were being shipped away for safe-keeping. The famous picture of Patty Hearst taken by an automatic surveillance camera during a San Francisco bank robbery was included with the opinion that it was "a painful symbol" of things gone wrong.

Although this book is presented as a comprehensive survey of the most important and most interesting happenings of the last 125 years, it is certainly not an accurate portrayal of all the roles that women have been filling. What it is is a portrayal of the few female roles that the male dominated press thinks of as either commendable or newsworthy. Judging from the photographer's names, 106 of the pictures were taken by men, while only one was taken by a woman. (For some of the pictures the photographer was unknown). Even the picture taken by a woman relates to sex-role stereotypes. It illustrates the rescue of two truckers from a burning semi. People from two cars that happened to be following the truck lowered a rope and pulled the two drivers up just before the whole truck crashed to the rocks below. But if it weren't for sex-role stereotypes, we would not have had this Pulitzer prize winning photograph. The woman who took it would not have felt free to run across the ravine and snap pictures with her brownie camera. Instead, she would have been helping to pull on the rope and rescue the drivers!!!

The lopsidedness--the obvious male orientation--of this whole book, is best summed up by the 1941 pinup of Rita Hayworth. It is presented under the caption, "Silken Memory." The explanation, which shows how closely text and pictures relate, is that the photograph "is used here, out of sequence, on the grounds that it is needed more now, thirty years later, than then." It goes on to nostalgically tell how during World War II, the picture was carried around the globe by the armed forces while today it "remains a symbol of a simpler time, when men were not ashamed of their war, when the world seemed to make more sense and the times were less contentious and a man could look forward to a wife who would love him, a home that would shelter him, neighbors who would not confound him, a paycheck that would be all his, and children who would honor him."

As this analysis of The Instant It Happened points out, illustrations and illustrated materials can communicate many ideas that have little to do with the intended content. Many sexist assumptions, attitudes, and expectations can be communicated when visual images repeat society's stereotyped and sexist ideas about men and women.

6. What evidence of sexism and sex-role stereotyping is found in instructional materials?

The following charts review and summarize the evidence of sex-role stereotyping and sexist ideas found in school materials. Through sexism and sex-role stereotyping, unfair and inaccurate assumptions about the differences between males and females are continually transmitted to students. As you examine materials, you will be able to add additional

evidence of how sexist and unfair ideas are communicated. For the next group meeting, think about specific examples of these ideas being communicated in school materials. Look at, for example, career materials, mathematics textbooks, and sound filmstrips about American history.

INNATE SEX DIFFERENCE: Males are physically stronger than females.

ASSUMPTION BASED ON SEX DIFFERENCE: Because males are physically stronger, it is assumed that they are intellectually stronger too.

HOW THE ASSUMPTION IS COMMUNICATED IN INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS AND LITERATURE:

- Male characters are shown in the majority of leadership and decision-making roles.
- Body language of female characters implies dependence and submissiveness.
- Differential--and often diminutive and demeaning--terminology is used to denote women's roles and characteristics (e.g., aviatrix, Negress, majorette).
- Women's issues and women's achievements are given little or no attention. The accomplishments of individual women are omitted from many books.
- Women's achievements--and many women--are often subsumed under masculine-sounding generic terms. Even quotations ("All men are created equal") either subsume or omit women.
- The achievements of women authors are often hidden behind masculine-sounding pennames (E. L. Konigsburg, George Eliot, etc.).
- Male voices are used for narrations of films and filmstrips about "serious" subjects.
- Literature includes numerous references to "foolish old women," "old wives' tales," and "silly girls."

INNATE SEX DIFFERENCE: Males are physically stronger than females.

ASSUMPTION BASED ON SEX DIFFERENCE: Because males are physically stronger, it is assumed they are emotionally stronger too.

HOW THE ASSUMPTION IS COMMUNICATED IN INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS AND LITERATURE:

- Women and girls seem to be helpless in times of danger, needing a man to help them or comfort them.
- Much descriptive language emphasizes women's "frailty" and dependence (clinging vine, shrinking violet, little women) and men's strength (take it like a man, man-sized job).
- Men and boys are portrayed in a much narrower range of emotions than girls.
- Girls, but rarely boys, are shown being frightened, scared, and cowardly.
- Science books show boys and men handling potentially dangerous (and, hence, frightening) animals such as snakes and insects.
- Cartoons and humorbooks emphasize females' supposed fear of mice and other rodents.

INNATE SEX DIFFERENCE: Males are physically stronger than females.

ASSUMPTION BASED ON SEX DIFFERENCE: Because males are physically stronger, it is assumed that they will do the work--usually outside of the home--to provide the financial support for their families.

HOW THE ASSUMPTION IS COMMUNICATED IN INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS AND LITERATURE:

- Nearly all adult women are shown in the roles of homemaker and mother in children's books, and until recently, few biographies, career stories, or history books were available to provide role models for young women.
- Because it is assumed that men and boys must prepare for and take on a greater variety of roles, they are pictured more often and named more often.
- Problems in science and math books show boys figuring out measurements for career-related tasks (crossing oceans, building machines, going to the moon). Girls are shown figuring out measurements for recipes, sewing, grocery-shopping, and other home-related tasks.

INNATE SEX DIFFERENCE: Males and females are born with different genitalia.

ASSUMPTION BASED ON SEX DIFFERENCE: Because of this one basic difference, it is assumed that males and females are at opposite ends of a continuum, and that the ideal male has characteristics opposite to those of the ideal female.

HOW THE ASSUMPTION IS COMMUNICATED IN INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS AND LITERATURE:

- Women and girls are more often engaged in quiet, indoor activities; men and boys are portrayed in active, outdoor activities. Girls appreciate, watch, wait, and participate passively. Boys produce, solve, and build.
- Even in history and other textbooks, women are pictured most often as passive bystanders or supportive wives.
- Classification problems and exercises (in math, for instance) emphasize differences between boys and girls. In many cases, these problems emphasize physical attributes of females.
- Pastel or pale colors often signify girls and women; vibrant and strong colors signify boys and men.
- Boys--of all ages--are pictured as physically larger than girls.

INNATE SEX DIFFERENCE:	Women, but not men, become pregnant as a result of sexual intercourse.
ASSUMPTION BASED ON SEX DIFFERENCE:	Because the woman must be the guardian of her womb, it is assumed that she will be the one to set the limits of sexual behavior and the man will play the opposite role of sexual aggressor.

HOW THE ASSUMPTION IS COMMUNICATED IN INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL AND LITERATURE:

- Sexual language emphasizes male strength and dominance ("took her virginity," "screw").
- Many stories of adolescent love stereotype male behavior as sexually aggressive. Girls who do not resist suffer the consequences.
- Women are referred to by "cute" animal terminology: "bunny," "chick," "fox." This highlights their sexual attractiveness to men. Ugly girls are "dogs."
- Although ageism extends to males and females, language emphasizes that women are less valuable as they become less sexually attractive (old wives' tales, old crow, wicked stepmother).
- Texts and reference books include more comments about physical attributes of women and women's fashions than about the physical attributes of men and men's fashions.
- Appearance, grooming, and clothing (attributes necessary to "attract" a man) are emphasized for girls and women. Women are pictured housecleaning in heels; girls, playing in party clothes.
- Pictures of women are often included solely as decorations or as "sex objects."

INNATE SEX DIFFERENCE:	Women's bodies produce babies as well as the milk to nurture them during infancy.
ASSUMPTION BASED ON SEX DIFFERENCE:	Because of this early relationship between mother and child, it is assumed that women's natural abilities and instincts relate to child bearing and child rearing.

HOW THE ASSUMPTION IS COMMUNICATED IN INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS AND LITERATURE:

- Pictures in books show mothers taking care of children much more often than they show fathers taking care of children. Men are rarely included in illustrations of the activities of the home. They are rarely pictured as nurturers.
- In animal fantasies, female characters are shown in the roles of mother, teacher, librarian, secretary, and nurse. Feminine pronouns are used only to designate mothers and other female sex-stereotyped roles.
- Women in picture books are usually portrayed in the same roles.
- Even young girls are often portrayed as cleaning up for and looking after boys.
- When writing about women who are well-known for their work outside the home, writers describe their marital and family relationships in greater detail and more often than men's.
- Masculine occupational titles seem to exclude women. So does the use of masculine pronouns when neuter professional terminology is used (e.g., he for doctor). Males are excluded when feminine pronouns are used with the terms librarian, teacher, etc.
- Guidance materials used with young people often show service jobs as appropriate for females, while creative, assertive, and investigative jobs are shown as appropriate for males.